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conversation and gradually began to speak a little myself. I had no interpreter who knew real English. Pidgin English was as far as any of them went. In this area there are always some natives who have worked on coconut plantations or in the white man's capital, and they return with some knowledge of pidgin English. In the very beginning of my stay I worked in pidgin English and through an interpreter. Gradually I learned to speak a little of the native language and understood more, and this knowledge increased with time. I was studying the language to use as a tool rather than for scientific linguistic analysis. In the ten and a half months of my visit I did not learn the language perfectly, or even what I considered nearly perfectly, and so I never trusted absolutely to my knowledge of it. I could participate in native conversations, but for all the important things I did not rely only on myself, but checked up with my best interpreters. For instance, I recorded the speeches at the feasts, but always worked over them afterwards with an interpreter. The natives, however, as is often the case, were under the impression that I knew the language much better than I really did.

A certain amount of work had already been done on New Ireland, mainly by the Germans. Peekel and Kramer are the chief ones who have worked there, and Graebner and Parkinson have also touched upon it in their studies. Most of the information is on the southern and central part of the island, and no anthropologist had been in the linguistic district where I worked. My study tried to delve into the intimate and daily life of the people, and was made from a rather different point of view than that of the German writers. I attempted to study the native life as it was

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functioning, to show the workings of the society and the various interrelationships of the different aspects of the culture, to understand motivations, to note individual variations in behaviour as well as general patterns. I studied such concrete cases as presented themselves as fully as possible and tried to understand the abstract principles underlying them. 121

In this part of the world it is difficult to apply an historical point of view, because there is so very little real historical information. For instance, whether there was in the past a sun cult, as some of the German writers believe, is difficult to ascertain. Certain rituals, such as that connected with the *malanggans* (elaborate wooden carvings connected with mortuary rites), seem to have lost much of their original meaning. But without the thesis of a sun cult, gathered from other areas, it does not seem to me that one would, from the present data, connect this ritual with the sun. The connection is decidedly too hypothetical to be termed historical. This is one of the phenomena where an historical approach would be useful in throwing light on the present. But, unfortunately, we haven't the history.

In this study certain aspects of the culture have been treated lightly. Technology is given very little attention and material culture is studied only in the context of economic organization. All the folk-tales collected are not given in the text, but the best have been selected and an attempt made to fit them into the body of the material as they fit into the life of the people. Linguistic notes are not given here and material on vital statistics has been published separately.[1] Although I studied the influence of what white

[1] Powdermaker, H., "Vital Statistics of New Ireland, as Revealed in Genealogies," *Human Biology*, September 1931.

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|2| contact there had been, these data are not given in this book, except as the European influence affected some of the material I gathered. Certain data I regard as more complete than others. On the *malanggans* I exhausted the material in my area, but undoubtedly there is much more to be said about them. A visit to the Tabar group of islands near by, and from which the carvings seem to have come, may reveal more information, and there is always the possibility of eventually getting some historical clue as to their original meaning. Data on black magic and on beliefs in ghosts might also be more complete. Social and economic organization, sexual life, intimacies of daily life, the body of native knowledge, and ritual happenings were studied very fully and as exhaustively as time permitted, and are much more complete than such aspects as technology and material culture.

The personal interests and training of the social anthropologist and conditions in the field naturally act as selective agents in choosing those aspects of the culture on which he does his most intensive work, no matter how objective he tries to be. And the method of field work varies from one field worker to another. Also, in a year's time no one person can study with equal thoroughness every aspect of any culture. Therefore an effort has been made to indicate the method of work and the strength and weakness of this material.

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MORTUARY RITES IN NEW IRELAND (BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO)[1]

By HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

121 IN New Ireland death is a most important ritual event and the rites concerning it are of particular psychological interest: The effect of the death on the survivors may be studied from two aspects: first, that of the rites which include the traditional activities of the survivors and the duties between them; second, that dealing with their emotional attitudes. Both are studied in chronological order—at the time of preparation for death, at burial, and after burial. The problem is to ascertain the function of the rites in connection with the emotional attitudes, or more concretely, to find out how the rites meet the psychological situation caused by death.

Among the survivors one distinguishes the clan relatives (in this society, close blood relatives through the female line), acquired relatives (husband or wife) and the rest of the community. Each of these groups is affected somewhat differently by the death and each functions in a different manner. According to their function, the survivors may be divided into mourners and what for want of a better name may be called executives, those responsible for carrying out the rites. Some fall into both groups.

Before describing the rites and discussing the problems involved 105 it is necessary to summarize briefly a few ethnological facts which have a bearing on the problem. This Melanesian society is both matrilineal and matrilocal. There are two exogamous moieties, the Eagle and the Hawk, which are subdivided into clans. The local unit is the village, which has a population of several hundred

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114 122 [1]The ethnological field work in New Ireland was done under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council in 1929-30. The island is divided into a number of linguistic units and the unit which the writer studied comprised five villages (Lesu, Ambwa, Langania, Libba and Tandis), covering approximately twelve miles on the east coast, about eighty miles from the northern end of the island. The author is now a National Research Fellow (U.S.) under the sponsorship of Professor Clark Wissler.

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EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES

121 Emotional attitudes are by their nature less easy to observe than rites. But one can, first, observe expressions of emotion, or lack of such expression; secondly, talk over the matter with the participants in the rites; and thirdly, listen to their own discussions. Also, because these are on the whole an extravert type of people, showing their emotions plainly, one can get more from observation than one could from a more reserved people. But even then the subject is a complicated one. When is an emotion real and when is it only a ritual expression? It may be both. How much of the emotion is spontaneous and how much is induced by the ritual? Motives may be very complex. Real grief may be mixed with the desire to do the proper thing and show off one's wealth at the mortuary rites of a loved relative. A sophisticated and introspective person of our own society is not always able to distinguish all the motives underlying his own actions. It is not to be expected that an ethnologist can answer all these questions for the native, but he may set down a series of careful observations.

761 During the period of illness immediately preceding death and during the burial rites, the survivors, as far as could be observed, 152 have no fear of any ghost or other supernatural element. Such emotions as fear, awe, etc., sometimes associated with death, appear to be completely lacking. It must be remembered in this connection [775] that these people have no belief in life after death. For two days I sat with a group of women about the bed of Pulong, a sick woman who was expected to die. Their conversation never turned to any of the supernatural aspects of death, but was always about some very concrete matter such as a medicine for the sick woman. Neither their conversation nor attitude indicated any other feeling except affectionate concern and sorrow. The parents, children and spouse show these feelings particularly. Ongas, the husband of Pulong, the woman just mentioned, sat with bent head in front of the house and neither ate nor talked. There was no mistaking his real sorrow. The rest of the community seemed not to be affected by such deep emotions. The members of the neighbouring hamlets came and cooked in the compound of the sick person, but there was the usual

648 Government. Activities for the moral and material welfare of the native peoples embrace a wide range of administrative functions, such as the penetration, pacification and control of hostile districts, the institution of law and order, the establishment of schools, enumeration of the population, the inspection and protection of native labour, medical patrols, the mapping of morbidity areas, the training and appointment of native medical assistants, village hygiene, the establishment of hospitals for treatment, the training of natives in agriculture, the inspection of native plantations, and innumerable duties of a general nature. In this work the Government is assisted by the various missions in the Territory.

Among the problems of native welfare facing the executive organization of the Administration, the question of depopulation probably stands first. While so much is being done in a general way to cope with the variety of factors on which welfare is dependent and to eradicate the more readily ascertainable causes of diminution, the time is ripe for a definite and comprehensive attack on the whole problem. Our District Staff includes a number of young officers, who have had the advantage of an anthropological training in the Sydney University. They are stationed in outlying parts of the Territory as Patrol Officers, and, since their work keeps them constantly in intimate touch with the people of their divisions, a great deal of valuable information should be forthcoming.

648 659 Before launching a definite programme for the treatment of the population conditions, however, we must first determine whether depopulation is actually taking place, where and to what extent it is taking place, and, if possible, why it is taking place.

What is required, therefore, is a series of demographic surveys spread over the Territory for the purpose of ascertaining the conditions of the population, locating areas where depopulation exists, and gathering data showing its extent and the factors that are contributing to it. Possible experimental restoratives should then be considered before an expensive programme of treatment is actually laid down. Once the condition in any particular area can be set out statistically in terms of causal factors, the nature and possible extent of which can be indicated to the executive organizations whose duty it is to apply practical measures, the scheme of attack could be directed along definite lines of a social, economic, religious or physiological character, according to the requirements of the campaign.

121 464 With the object of devising a concise method suitable for investigations of this nature, I visited Kavieng district early this year, and, with the approval of His Honour the Administrator, made a survey among

the inhabitants of the east coast of New Ireland from Kaviengto Karu, a district for many reasons eminently suitable for the study in question. In the first place, it had always been, and still is, one of the most important centres in the Territory for the recruiting of native labour. Scattered along its coast are many of the most flourishing plantations in New Guinea, the owners of which depend on local natives for the bulk of their labour supply—a dependence specially marked just now owing to the depression in the copra market, which compels industrial organizations to observe the greatest economy. The immediate advantage to the planter of local labour over labour recruited from other parts of the Territory is the saving of recruiting fees, passage moneys, transport and incidental costs through his being able to secure the natives he requires from the villages around his plantation, and the advantages to the native population of being able to place its available workers on some plantation near their villages are obviously so great that everything should be done to encourage conditions that make it possible. A further inducement to the studying of the population in this region is the position that has lately arisen owing to an increasing European interest in local lands for agricultural purposes, resulting during the last few years in numerous applications for leaseholds, of which many were being held in abeyance until an inquiry could be made into the future land requirements of the native inhabitants. In German times considerable areas of land were alienated and freehold grants given to European planters, who utilized these rights to such advantage that here and there along the coast are numerous productive and exceedingly valuable coco-nut plantations. The land in the district is suitable for the cultivation of coco-nuts. It is traversed from end to end by a road good enough for motor traffic. It has a large population, the climate is excellent, and there are several anchorages in convenient centres where small steamers are able to pick up copra—the very conditions to encourage European settlement. Now arises a question which cannot be determined until a close survey has been made of the population itself; i.e., whether in the interests of the natives and their future requirements any further land should be alienated, a point of especial importance since the natives themselves now own coco-nut groves, which they are being encouraged to extend, while at the same time they are receiving instruction from officials of the Department of Agriculture in the planting and maintaining of such properties.

121 464 121 423 563 648 [491]

Just as in matters of land and labour, so in the question of trade, the natives are brought closely into contact with the European population. It is to the European that the native sells the products of his coco-nut groves, his surplus native food, pigs, fish, fruit, fowls, eggs and in some places trochus-shell, snail shell and bêche-de-mer, for which he receives in return money, rice and other European foods, and trade

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3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more interdependent.

The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor-traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Maiom and Pinigindu.

The progress of European organizations has transformed the life of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *maligans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line, excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Lulusi and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

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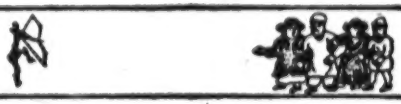

VITAL STATISTICS OF NEW IRELAND (Bismarck Archipelago) AS REVEALED IN GENEALOGIES

BY HORTENSE POWDERMAKER[1]

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INTRODUCTION

121 The purpose of the following study was to obtain birth and death rates which would show whether the native population is declining and, if it is, whether the decline is due to a low birth rate, a high mortality rate, or both. Sex ratios at birth and at the time of reproduction were also obtained.

121 114 The statistics were collected in a Melanesian community in New Ireland, (one of the islands in the Bismarck Archipelago and part of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea) where the writer lived for ten months. One linguistic unit, consisting of five villages on the east coast, about eighty miles from the northern end of the island, provided the material for the ethnological research. The villages were Ambwa, Lesu,[2] Langania, Libba and Tandis, and their total population is approximately 1,200. Residence was established in the village of Lesu, with a population of 222, and the bulk of the statistics were collected there.

METHOD

[126] Four hundred and fifty-five women and their offspring are the basis of the study. The statistics were collected by the genealogical method and figures for three generations were thus obtained. The results show 121 the trend for approximately the last hundred years. The genealogical method serves as a means for the comparison of age groups. Among a

[122] [1] The ethnological field work was done in 1929-1930, under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council and the author is now a Fellow of the National Research Council (U. S.), under the sponsorship of Dr. Clark Wissler.

[2] The spelling on government publications is Lossu. The spelling used in this text more closely approximates the native pronunciation of the word.

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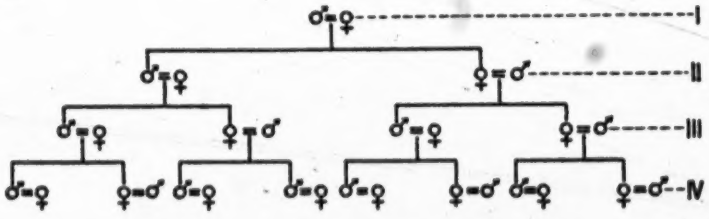
stone-age people, where the unit of a year is unknown, and where there is no record of ages, written or otherwise, this is a way of getting around the question of age. One can, through the use of genealogies, classify everyone according to generation. Thus, given a number of genealogies, such as



all those on the line with *I* are in one generation, those on the line with *II* in another, and those on the line with *III* in still another, and so on.

The generations have been indicated as follows: Those persons in generation *I* are a past generation in which the women are dead. The generation described as *II* are the children of *I*, and the women are old, past the childbearing period. Number *III* are the children of *II* and are women who have reached their menopause. The group known as number *IV* are young women whose marriage is of more than one year's duration and who are in the childbearing period, frequently in the beginning of it. This group can be used only in a limited manner. The sex, name, clan, order of birth (first, second, or third born, etc.), approximate time of death and various other ethnological facts were recorded for each person in the genealogies.

Because of the lack of a calendar and complete ignorance of their chronological age, intervals of time have to be calculated from the physiological crises occurring in the life history of an individual. The lactation period lasts from two to three years. The period of childhood indicates the time between the end of the lactation period and the beginning of puberty, approximately between the ages of two and a half or three and thirteen.[3] Youth covers the period from the end of childhood

[3] The average age for the beginning of menstruation in the tropics is said to be 12.9 years. See Carr-Saunders, A. M.—*The Population Problem*, 1922, Oxford, p. 91.

For the boy there is no such clearly marked physiological end of childhood. Circumcision occurs, roughly, any time between the ages of about eight and twelve, or thirteen. It is a communal rite, held when the necessary food and wealth have been accumulated, and all the boys of the village within these age boundaries are circumcised at one time.

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to about sixteen, and by young manhood and womanhood is meant the time between the end of youth and the early twenties. These, of course, are only generalizations.

Since the main object is to determine infant and childhood mortality rates, and survival rates at the time of reproduction, death rates are calculated only for the period up to marriage. The point is to find out how many people survive until the time when they can reproduce themselves. It must therefore be remembered that the total number of deaths is always the total number occurring before marriage. Moreover, in the genealogical method, where in one classification all the principals are dead, this is the only feasible procedure.

It is obvious that there will be a certain amount of error in any vital statistics collected among a people where there are no records of birth and death, but the importance of real and classificatory relatives, the rather formalized pattern of behavior between them, and the elaborate pregnancy, birth, and death rites, and interclan marriages, enables a Melanesian native to give a fairly accurate genealogy. It may be also that the very absence of written records throws a heavier burden upon the individual's memory, which he does not shirk. But it is obvious that no matter how good the memory of Melanesian informants, errors in these data must exist. They are, however, in the nature of the material and would probably exist in any study made on a similar primitive people. As far as possible, these errors are indicated in the description of the tables, which, it should be understood, denote general trends rather than exact statements. The genealogical method, while taking much more time than the census method, enables one to separate the subjects into age groups and presents a more comprehensive prospective over a longer period of time. But because of the great amount of detailed work and time involved in the use of this method, it is only practical for a small unit of people.

The nearest comparable figures are those of the recent government census taken in 1929 for a part of the east coast of New Ireland (from Kavieng to the village of Karu, approximately 147 miles beginning at the northern end of the island) and which includes over a larger area the people designated in this study as generations II, III, IV, but excludes those in generation I (the dead).[4] The results of the government

[4] Chinnery, E. W. P.—*Anthropological Report*, No. 6, Territory of New Guinea. In print.

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they were in the past, and that while they may be a cause for a high rate of infant mortality they cannot be considered as a cause for an increase in the rate. Epidemics might reasonably be a factor, and there was an influenza epidemic in 1918 and a famine in 1914, due to drought, in New Ireland. There is no record of how many deaths, or the ages of those dying from either influenza or the famine, so that they can only be considered in a general way. The last cause mentioned by the conference, namely infanticide, does not exist now and did not in the past, as far as one was able to observe, among the people on whom this study is based.

Psychological causes for a decline in native populations have been suggested by W. H. R. Rivers and G. H. L. Pitt-Rivers. The former, in his discussion of the conditions which have affected increasing death rates and decreasing birth rates, mentioned the following: the introduction of diseases, of alcohol and opium, of firearms, of European garments, of modified housing, and finally, modifications and interferences with native customs.[28] Dr. Rivers emphasized the last point particularly and believed that the destruction of native institutions deprived the natives of their interest in life. Continuing his discussion of the increasing death rates, he said, "The special point I wish to make in my contribution to this book is that interest in life is a primary factor in the welfare of a people. The new diseases and poisons, the innovations in clothing, housing and feeding, are only the immediate causes of mortality. It is the loss of interest in life underlying these more obvious causes which give them their potency for evil and allows them to work such ravages upon life and health." [29] When he considered the decline in birth rates he again emphasized the significance of mental factors, and thought that the same loss of interest in life might be of importance in

[28] Rivers, W. H. R., Essay, "The Psychological Factor," in *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, edited by the same author, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 89-95. Alcohol, opium and firearms are not used by the natives of this study. The men now wear loin cloths when formerly they were naked, and have acquired a consciousness of their bodies which they lacked in the past. The women wear loin cloths also, instead of the straw aprons formerly worn, and they are supposed to wear blouses. The blouse comes off when they are working, and frequently at other times too. Dr. Rivers' point that the natives keep their bodies clean, but not their acquired clothing, applies to these people. The houses have not been modified by European influence. The other two factors, the introduction of diseases and the modification of native customs, are discussed in the text.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

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121 accounting for it. He wrote, "We have here only another effect of the loss of interest in life which I have held to be so potent in enhancing mortality. The people say themselves: 'Why should we bring children into the world only to work for the white man?' " [30]

Pitt-Rivers has emphasized still more strongly the influence of psychological factors from another point of view and suggests that the destruction of cultural institutions such as magic, economic structure, etc., results in boredom or loss of the *joie de vivre,* which in turn might operate to exterminate a race.[31] He thinks that even though there be normal sexual intercourse, the woman might not conceive because her emotional life had been disturbed, which he would trace to the break up of the native culture through white contact.[32]

105 114 121 177 182 The writer of this paper would not deny the possible influence of these psychological factors when they were operative, but the point is that the psychological factors mentioned by Dr. Rivers and by Pitt-Rivers are not present among the people on whom this study was made and therefore cannot be adduced as a cause for their decline. The fundamental aspects of the native culture have not been broken up, and these people are not bored, nor have they lost their *joie de vivre.* Although there has been a fair amount of white contact, and cannibalism and warfare have been abolished by the mandated government, their kinship organization, economic structure, ritual and sexual life, are still actively functioning according to their traditional custom. The people are busy with their daily work (gardening and fishing) and with preparations for the many ritual feasts and dances. They flirt, marry, and have their *affaires du coeur* in a very happy, casual fashion and do not, as Dr. W. H. R. Rivers suggests, ask themselves why they should bring children into the world. They are, as far as can be observed, quite happy, decidedly not bored, and have a real interest in life.

177 The psychological factors mentioned by the two authors just quoted may be operative on the generation of children now growing up. Many of these have been to mission schools, where they are given the concept of shame in connection with sexual matters, particularly in regard to extra-marital intercourse, which is a very indigenous part of their culture. White contacts are increasing and it is probably only a matter of time before the native culture will be broken up. What the

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 104.
[31] Pitt-Rivers, G. H. L. F.—*The Clash of Cultures,* London, 1927, pp. 142-148.
[32] *Ibid.,* pp. 146-147.

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FEASTS IN NEW IRELAND; THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF EATING[1]

By HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

EATING has an important social function among any people. Groups of people eating together on a particular occasion, whether it be a mortuary feast in a primitive society or a birthday dinner party in our own culture, illustrate the point that eating is a social institution as well as an individual physiological necessity. In the primitive society of New Ireland, social life in its ritual, and in many of its non-ritual aspects also, centered around feasts. This term includes not only those occasions when food is eaten communally, but also when it is only distributed, and in this paper denotes any communal rite (and non-ritual occasion) centering around food. The two most important communal events are dances and feasts. Only the latter are being considered in this paper.

Social Function of Eating

The communal eating of food and customs concerning it may be said to have a double social function: (1) to maintain the cohesion of the society and of groups within it; (2) to determine, in part, the relation of the individual to the society and to the smaller groups within it. The psychological theory underlying the first function is that society maintains its existence by a system of sentiments which are given collective expression on ritual occasions.[2] In this society the most frequent of these are feasts.

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[1] This article is based on an ethnological study of a Melanesian society on the island of New Ireland in the Bismarck Archipelago. The author lived for ten months in the village of Lesu (phonetic spelling; the spelling on government maps is Lossu) on the east coast about eighty miles from the northern end of the island, and attempted a rather intensive study of a relatively small group of people, one linguistic unit of five villages each with a population of between two and three hundred, covering an area of ten or twelve miles. The research was conducted under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council, and the author is now preparing the material for publication as a Fellow of the National Research Council (United States), under the sponsorship of Dr. Clark Wissler.

[2] Professor Radcliffe-Brown has expounded this theory in The Andaman Islanders (Cambridge, 1922). He says pp. 233, 234: "(1) A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments (an organized system of emotional tendencies centered about some object) by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society. (2) Every feature of the social system itself and every event or object that in any way affects the well-being or the cohesion of the society becomes an object of this system of sentiments. (3) In human society the sentiments in question are not innate but are developed in the individual by the action of the society upon him.

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Members of the society come together at a feast to welcome a new member, to mourn the loss of an old one, to mark a change in the social status of the individual through circumcision, menstruation, or marriage, to note the return to the society of a member after a temporary withdrawal through illness, and before a communal enterprise such as war. Should there be a rift occasioned by a quarrel, it is the coming together over food that mends it.[3] On all these occasions society manifests its unity. While the rites vary according to the event, food is a common denominator of all of them.

The feast provides not only an opportunity for the society to express collectively those sentiments which maintain its existence, but it also serves more concretely as the occasion for the transaction of much of the business and social (apart from ritual) life of the community. It is at the feasts that trade is carried on. Payments are made for objects and services, and future trading operations are arranged. On the same occasion individuals and groups exchange gifts. A feast also frequently becomes a meeting where matters of importance are discussed. Finally, it is a sociable occasion for both sexes, when jokes and gossip are exchanged.

The second function affects the relation of the individual to his group and the relation between several individuals. The native's explanation of why he gives a feast is that he must do so to gain prestige. Rather does he put it in a negative way, that, unless he gives a feast on any of the occasions which demand one, he will be a person of no account: everyone will talk about him in a derogatory fashion, saying that he has no food or wealth, and is not able to give a feast. To a native this kind of gossip is most noxious; a lowering of his prestige must be avoided at any cost, and the number and the size of the feasts he gives are most important in affecting his position.

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(4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given collective expression on appropriate occasions. (5) The ceremonial (i.e., collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another."

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has applied this theory to Andaman society and has described the various ritual occasions in the Andaman society which serve to maintain and strengthen these sentiments. He has not, however, applied his theory or mentioned it in connection with feasts. His theory of the social value of food is that "food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations" (p. 278). This theory deals with the social value of food itself and how society overcomes the danger resulting from the social value. The above article is concerned with quite a different aspect, namely, the social function of eating.

[3] This is just the final mark that the quarrel is over. Preceding the feast there is an exchange of 'sary (currency) between the two disputants.